

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 00949 01 OF 02 051718Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----122254 051722Z /50
O 051545Z MAR 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7843
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OUGADOUGOU IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0949

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PORG, UNSC RH, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S VIEWS ON NEXT STEPS ON RHODESIA

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 0948, (B) STATE 056353, (C) USUN 00775

1. SUMMARY: ACTING UK HIGH COMMISSIONER STRONG AND I HAD TWO
SESSIONS WITH NYERERE AFTERNOON MARCH 5. IN FIRST I MADE REF B
PRESENTATION. NYERERE WAS INCLINED TO BACKTRACK FROM HIS POSITION
OF MARCH 4 SAYING IT WAS NOW PROBABLY TOO LATE TO STOP SC
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MEETING AND SUGGESTING WE LET IT GO, AND THEN CALL CONFERENCE.
THOROUGH CONDEMNATION OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD OCCUR IN
SC, IF FOLLOWED BY A-A P CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, WOULD AVERT AFRICA-
WEST SPLIT WHICH HE FEARED. WITH CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY WE
MANAGED BRING HIM BACK TO CONSIDERATION POSTPONEMENT UNSC
SESSION IN FAVOR OF CONFERENCE WITH FALL-BACK TO UNSC MEMBERS-
ONLY SESSION TO CALL FOR CONFERENCE. HE AGREED TALK WITH

AMBASSADOR SALIM ON PHONE.

2. NYERERE CALLED US BACK TO MSASANI A HALF-HOUR LATER TO REPORT ON HIS TALK WITH SALIM. NYERERE NOW RECOMMENDS US-UK PRESENT A-P CONFERENCE PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY AND DETERMINEDLY IN SC CONSULTATIONS WITH AIM OF GETTING THREE OR FOUR DAY DELAY IN SC MEETING. HE IS OBVIOUSLY DETERMINED HAVE CONDEMNATION OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT (WHICH HE NOW DESCRIBES AS "EVEN LESS THAN ANYONE COULD HAVE IMAGINED") AND TO BLOCK WHAT HE BELIEVES IS BRITISH EFFORT TO GET RESPECTABILITY FOR MUZOREWA AT UN. END SUMMARY

3. UK ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER STRONG HAS NOT YET RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS PARALLEL TO REF. B., HAVING ONLY A SHORT TELEGRAM ASKING THAT HE APPROACH TANZANIANS WITH APPEAL TO HELP HOLD OFF SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. STRONG, HOWEVER, ACCOMPANIED ME TO MEETING WITH NYERERE AFTERNOON MARCH 5 AND ENDORSED MY PRESENTATION. NYERERE'S PRESS SECRETARY SAMMY MDEE WAS ALSO PRESENT.

4. NYERERE'S FIRST RESPONSE TO PRESENTATION WAS "THAT'S FINE*" HE IMMEDIATELY ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE NOW FEARED IT WAS TOO LATE TO STOP A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. LET THE SC GO AHEAD AND CONDEMN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE US AND UK SHOULD THEN BRING IN THEIR CONFERENCE PROPOSAL AND GET SC ENDORSEMENT TO GO AHEAD. IT COULD COUNT ON PATRIOTIC FRONT AS WELL AS FRONT LINE
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SUPPORT FOR THIS. AN AFRICAN-WEST SPLIT WOULD BE PREVENTED.

5. I SAID THIS WAS LESS THAN WHAT HE HAD INDICATED TO ME YESTERDAY AND LESS THAN WHAT WE NEEDED. AN EMOTIONAL VITUPERATIVE DEBATE COULD PREVENT THE A-A P EVER BEING TURNED ON AGAIN. EVEN APART FROM OUR OWN PUBLIC OPINION, WE ALL HAD TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE SOVIET POSITION ON THIS. CONDEMNATION OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND ITS SUPPORTING "IMPERIALISTS" WOULD SUIT THEM JUST FINE. THEIR REACTION TO ANOTHER TRY AT THE A-A P WOULD BE QUITE DIFFERENT.

6. NYERERE MADE HIS COUNTER-ARGUMENTS AGAIN, SAYING SALISBURY AGREEMENT WAS THE WORST KIND OF JOKE. IT HAD TO BE CONDEMNED. I SAID "ALL RIGHT. BUT WHY IN SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE AND BEFORE THE VERY A-A EFFORT YOU PROPOSED?" NYERERE BACKTRACKED A LITTLE AND SAID HE WOULD INSTRUCT SALIM TO COOPERATE IN TRYING TO POSTPONE A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING.

7. NYERERE CONTINUED TO HARP ON HIS FEAR THAT IT WAS TOO LATE TO STOP A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, HIS DETESTATION OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT, AND THE NECESSITY OF CONDEMNING IT. SO I TRIED TO GET HIS SUPPORT FOR OUR FALL-BACK APPROACH OF A

MEMBERS-ONLY SC MEETING. WITH CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY I MANAGED TO EXTRACT HIS LUKEWARM AGREEMENT TO THAT--"IF EVEN IT IS POSSIBLE"--IN PREFERENCE TO A FULL-FLEDGED SC DEBATE.

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ACTION SS-25

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-----122362 051855Z /50

O 051545Z MAR 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 0949

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

8. I TOLD NYERERE THAT MY COLLEAGUES IN MAPUTO AND LAGOS AT LEAST WERE BRIEFING LEADERS THERE ON OUR INTENTIONS AND REQUESTED HIS SUPPORT. HE DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY ON THIS TO ME OR TO JOHN STRONG WHEN STRONG BROUGHT THE SUBJECT UP AGAIN LATER. I SAID THAT I HAD REPORTED FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA WAS IN LAGOS AND WE WOULD BE TRYING TO FILL HIM IN THERE. NYERERE CONFIRMED THAT MKAPA HAD LEFT FOR LAGOS LAST NIGHT. HE AGAIN AVOIDED A DIRECT RESPONSE WHEN I SAID I THOUGHT IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT BRIGADIER GARBA AND AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN BE BROUGHT INTO COOPERATION ON WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO. I SAID THAT THE US
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AND UK WERE NOT PRESENTING THE CONFERENCE AS NYERERE'S IDEA, DESPITE THE TEMPTATION TO DO SO. NEVERTHELESS, I THOUGHT WE HAD BEGUN TO BUILD UP SUPPORT FOR A SC POSTPONEMENT IN NEW YORK. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF HE THREW HIS WEIGHT BEHIND HIS OWN IDEA. HE DID NOT RESPOND TO THIS EITHER, SAYING THAT HE WOULD TALK THE WHOLE MATTER OVER WITH SALIM.

9. A HALF-HOUR AFTER WE LEFT NYERERE CALLED US BACK TO MASASANI TO REPORT ON HIS DISCUSSION WITH SALIM. HE FIRST SAID THAT SALIM SAYS THAT IT IS TOO LATE TO STOP THE SC SESSION. THE AFRICANS NEVER WANTED ANYTHING BUT A BRIEF SC CONDEMNATION OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ANYWAY AND THEY WERE GOING SIMPLY TO ASK THAT PREM CHAND BE DIRECTED TO REPORT TO THE SC BY MARCH 16. IT WAS THE UK WHICH WAS INSISTING THAT MUZOREWA AND OTHERS JOIN THE DEBATE. THEY WANTED TO MAKE THE FELLOW RESPECTABLE. THAT WOULDN'T WORK. IN VIEW OF WHAT HE HAD JUST SIGNED, THE BISHOP WOULD BE DEAD THE MOMENT HE FACED THE WORLD. NYERERE ADDED PARENTHETICALLY THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND THE UK'S AND THE US'S WANTING TO WAIT TO SEE WHAT THE SALISBURY SETTLEMENT WAS, BUT NOW THAT WE KNEW, IT SHOULD BE EASY TO CONDEMN IT.

10. NYERERE THEN SAID: "LOOK. TALK TO SALIM. IF THE US AND THE UK CAN PRESENT THEIR A-A P CONFERENCE PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY AND DETERMINEDLY IN THE SC CONSULTATIONS, A MEETING CAN BE HELD OFF FOR AWHILE." (HE MENTIONED THREE OR FOUR DAYS AT ONE POINT.) HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE NATIONALISTS WHO CAME TO NEW YORK TO ATTEND THE SC MEETING COULD GO TO THE CONFERENCE FIRST. IF THERE SUBSEQUENTLY WAS SOMETHING CONSTRUCTIVE TO REPORT TO THE SC ON THE A-A PLAN, NYERERE AND AFRICA WOULD BE MUCH MORE INTERESTED IN APPROVING THAT THAN IN CONDEMNING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT--ALTHOUGH THE LATTER WAS GOING TO OCCUR TOO. NYERERE ENDED BY REPEATING THAT HE HAD NEVER WANTED THE SC MEETING IN THE FIRST PLACE BUT THAT MAYBE HE HAD WAITED TOO LONG TO TRY TO STOP IT.

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11. COMMENT: NYERERE WAS IN FRIENDLY MOOD, THOUGH HE COULD NOT RESIST FEW CRACKS AT THE BRITISH. WHILE COHERENT AND CONSISTENT ON WHAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE, HE APPEARED TO BE THRASHING ABOUT ON HOW TO ACHIEVE IT. HE SHOWED SOME SIGNS OF BEING WORRIED ABOUT HAVING GOTTEN HIMSELF DEEPER INTO THE SITUATION THROUGH HIS APPEALS TO THE US AND THE UK THAN HE HAD INTENDED. HE MAY ALSO BE WORRIED AS TO JUST HOW FAR HE CAN BRING OTHER AFRICANS ALONG. MY READING IS THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO SALIM WERE: NOT TO BLOCK OUR EFFORTS, TO GO ALONG WITH THEM WHERE HE COULD, BUT NOT TO GET TOO FAR OUT IN FRONT. HE IS PROBABLY

WILLING TO LEAVE EVEN MORE THAN USUAL DISCRETION TO SALIM IN THIS TRICKY, SITUATION, AND TO SEE THE FINAL PATTERN OF ACTION WORKED OUT IN NEW YORK. FROM HERE, ONE THING SEEMS FAIRLY CLEAR: IF WE HAVE TO FALL BACK TO OPTION B, PARA 2 USUN 00775 (SC DEBATE ON MERITS WITH MUZOREWA AND EVERYONE INCLUDED), WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO COUNT ON MUCH HELP FROM NYERERE.

12. I AM VERY GRATEFUL FOR DETAILED USUN AND DEPARTMENT CABLES WHICH MADE IT POSSIBLE TO GET AS FAR AS WE DID ON THIS. VERY MUCH WISH I COULD HAVE GOTTEN MORE BUT I PRESSED NYERERE AS HARD AS I EVER HAVE AND SHEERED OFF JUST AS HIS PERENNIAL GRIN STARTED TO FADE. ACTING UKHC STRONG IS INCLINED TO THINK NYERERE IS PULLING OUT ON US. HE MAY BE RIGHT, BUT I THINK THERE IS STILL MUCH TO BE SALVAGED. IT WILL PROBABLY BE BEST TO CENTER THAT EFFORT IN NEW YORK, BUT A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER IN RESPONSE TO NYERERE'S OF LAST FRIDAY COULD BE DECISIVE AT A SLIGHTLY LATER STAGE.
SPAIN

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